

ADDRESS BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D-SC) BEFORE ANNUAL ALUMNI BANQUET
AT PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE, CLINTON, S. C., 6:30 p.m., JUNE 4, 1960.

It is always a pleasure to visit Presbyterian College, Clinton, and Laurens County where I have so many warm friendships. I feel very privileged to address the faculty, alumni, soon-to-be alumni, and friends of the College gathered here tonight. I am particularly honored to be here this weekend to receive the high distinction of being awarded a Doctor of Laws degree by Presbyterian College. I am proud to join the alumni rolls of PC, and I am grateful to your very able Board of Trustees for conferring on me this great honor.

I have always felt a certain kinship to PC because of my many pleasant visits to your beautiful campus, because of my close friendship with your learned and outstanding President, because of my admiration for the lofty ideals and Christian principles for which Presbyterian stands, because of the great impetus PC has given to tennis, a sport in which I actively participate, and also because of my close association through the years with so many PC'uns.

Now that the Board of Trustees is making me an honorary alumnus, I feel a closer affinity than ever for this great institution, and I pledge that I shall give the utmost in loyalty and cooperation to Presbyterian. In fact, I have already notified Mr. Peck Cornwall, the diligent president of the Walter Johnson Club, to bill me annually as a supporter of the worthy aims of this club. I do not feel that an alumnus of any institution can rightly claim to be a loyal supporter or booster of that institution's athletic program--especially such a well-rounded one as you have here at PC--unless that alumnus is a dues-paying member of the association which helps pay the costs of maintaining a good athletic program.

While I am on the subject of athletics, I wish to take this opportunity to commend Coach Frank Jones and his staff on the excellent record PC athletic teams have compiled in various sports in the past few years. South Carolina was proud to have the Blue Stocking football team play so well in the Tangerine Bowl December 31. I understand that the opposition team came from a college as large as any we have in South Carolina. Being a graduate of Clemson, I am only glad that the Terrible Tigers were not called upon this year to risk their good record against one of the best teams ever to play for Presbyterian.

Coach Jones is doing a good job of following in the footsteps of PC's famous and beloved athletic coaches, the late Walter Johnson and Lonnie McMillian. Coach Johnson was one of my best friends, and one of South Carolina's most revered and respected citizens. His memory will forever serve as a great monument to Presbyterian College because he consistently exemplified the highest ideals of Presbyterian College in his coaching and teaching, in his work with young people, and in his faith in God.

Tonight I wish to discuss with you the importance which I attach to education in a society where the power of government rests ultimately in the people themselves. All too often, we as a people who enjoy the benefits of self rule complacently assume that the ultimate and complete solution to the problems of any country is simply to place the power in the hands of the people and that, invariably, the people will govern themselves well. The lessons of history belie such a broad and dogmatic assumption. At our own Constitutional convention, many leaders of the revolution, and even delegates to the convention, harbored doubts as to the ability of any people, as

a whole, to wisely govern themselves. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, doubted the ability of the American people to preserve their liberty and expressed his doubt in answer to a query as to whether a Republic or a Monarchy had been proposed by the Constitutional convention, when he said, "A Republic, if you can keep it."

The most persuasive advocate of a people's ability to regulate their own society was Thomas Jefferson. It was he, more than any other, who convinced the delegates to the Constitutional convention of the wisdom of vesting the power of government in the people themselves. Jefferson's persuasiveness stemmed from conviction, and his personal conviction was based on the premise that all of the people could and would be educated. During his life, Jefferson demonstrated his belief that the source of the public's ability to govern wisely lay in education. Not only was Jefferson founder and first president of the University of Virginia, but he was also a key figure in the establishment of the United States Military Academy. He realized that the seeds of liberty and justice could never survive in narrow minds, and that the success of our "experiment in democracy" depended on the education of the populace.

The history of our republic has proved that it is possible for an educated and informed people to successfully chart their own course. Great strides toward the fulfillment of Jefferson's vision of a literate, knowledgeable and informed public have been made.

During the past 80 years, PC has contributed immeasurably to this progress through its record of solid achievements in Christian higher education. PC has presented to the thousands of students who have passed through its classrooms a well-balanced educational program with the proper emphasis on mental, spiritual, and physical

development and growth. I have always felt that the values offered by our small church-supported institutions are without rival by any other class of educational institutions. Aside from the individual attention a student can receive at a small church college like PC, there is also the opportunity and the encouragement to develop strong traits of Christian character while receiving a good education.

PC has made much progress since it was founded in 1880 by that devoted servant of God and man, Dr. William Plummer Jacobs. It has particularly moved forward in recent years under the wise and dedicated leadership provided by its able president, Dr. Marshall Brown, and the distinguished members of the Board of Trustees. During the past 15 years, the College's endowment has been increased by more than three times, and several new beautiful buildings have been added to the campus. Just within the past few weeks I have read in the newspapers that the College is now embarking on a multi-million dollar expansion program and is adding a new Department of Christian Education.

As many, and as impressive, as are the accomplishments of Presbyterian College, they are not grounds for complacency. PC's goal lies in the future--not in the past. Past accomplishments are most important now as a stock of experience on which the needs of today and the future may be grafted. We, the friends and alumni of this great institution, must join--no, must lead--the rest of the people of this country in acquiring and maintaining the truly educated status of being able not only to progress economically, but also to chart a course of moral, economic, and political advancement that is consistent with the preservation of a free and self-governing society.

This is not an easy task. False prophets are abroad in the land, and unlike the false Biblical prophets, they do not rely on word of mouth alone to spread their deception. They are masters of propaganda, proficient at both the soft and hard sell, and experienced in the perversion of mass communication media for their own sinister purposes. Against their campaign, the untrained mind cannot prevail. Only the educated can separate the grain of truth from the chaff of deception to arrive at a rational judgment necessary as a basis of actions that can secure our liberty.

A firm and uncompromising set of values, which cannot be confused, is the most priceless asset with which any individual can be equipped to deal with all of life's problems. Our heritage has determined that Americans are a sympathetic and charitable people. Those who would subvert our liberty seek to use this noble and admirable characteristic to lead us down the road of socialism, by hiding their ultimate goal under the cloak of humanitarianism. Behind many noble slogans and some of the most appealing causes, lie the seeds of absolute State authority.

Our history of economic progress has served to whet our appetite to the extent that it approaches the extent of our imaginations. Now that we have "a chicken in every pot", we have apparently set our goal on "two cars and a boat in every garage". It is commendable that we have reached a level of economic prosperity which inspires a complete lack of patience with want, whether for necessities or luxuries. We reached this goal primarily, however, through individual effort; and the part not acquired by individual effort has been bought on credit, with a down payment of surrendered freedom. There is no such thing as "something for nothing", and there is no short

cut to the abolition of want, either in this country or the world. Proposals to substitute governmental actions for private effort must be considered in terms of the price to be paid, and the projected accomplishments viewed with a clear and critical eye. Economic security and tranquillity know no ultimate source but the individual.

The most valuable attributes which are inspired by an adequate education are self-reliance and self-confidence, and it is these attributes which are most formidable in resisting the contagion of oppressive doctrines and ideologies, whether they originate domestically or on foreign soil. Every part of the educational process plays a part in the development of the qualities of character and mind which insure the continuance of a successfully self-governed society. For instance, thorough training in the ability to perform competently a task which is useful, needed and desired by society does more than provide the mere means of earning a livelihood. Such training also instills in the recipient a bulwark against the insecurity which so often prevails against reason to a narrow or short-range outlook on problems that affect not only the individual, but his fellow citizens as well. The ability to perform the necessary tasks to earn a living, however, can never be considered an education in itself. In the process of teaching a trade or profession, the educational curriculum must be so administered as to train the mind of the individual both in sound principles of private and public conduct, and the ability to apply those principles to the solution of practical every-day problems.

One of the most essential tasks included in a sound educational program is the teaching of mental discipline, for in its broader aspects, mental discipline is synonymous with education. I cannot

help but feel that a difference in degree of mental discipline is the quality which distinguishes the students of our South Carolina colleges from students which I saw rioting against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco a few weeks ago.

The feasibility of self-government, and thereby of educational systems and institutions, is now on trial as never before since our country embarked on the rough sea of popular rule. From a national standpoint, we appear to be on the brink of substituting a preoccupation with economic security for our traditional jealousy of individual independence. This trend is apparent in many of the domestic policies which have invaded our national government.

The most glaring example of the policies to which I refer lies in the field of fiscal affairs. We have spent ourselves into a formal debt in excess of \$290 billion. I refer to this as our formal debt, for this represents funds already spent over and above receipts. There is another and larger debt in the form of commitments of future income, which, when added to the formal debt, totals more than \$750 billion. Only by comparison can we appreciate this enormous mortgage.

Our ever increasing debt, which we have incurred through the national government, is more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the total of our annual gross national product, and it stands as an obligation over and above our normal expenditures, which themselves have reached the fantastic level of approximately \$80 billion a year. The trend of fiscal irresponsibility is also graphically illustrated by the fact that during the first 150 years of our country's existence--those years between 1787 and 1937--the total expenditures of the national government were only \$157 billion; while in the last two fiscal years alone, these expenditures were exceeded by \$2 billion, for in fiscal

1959 and 1960, expenditures totaled \$159 billion. Let us not deceive ourselves that our debt through the national government has accumulated solely as a result of providing the necessities for defense against a foreign aggressor. Such is not the case. For instance, in the fiscal year of 1959 defense expenditures were down \$4.3 billion from the Korean War year of 1953, while non-defense expenditures in the same period were up \$9.2 billion. There is no alternative to the conclusion that the continuous increase in our debt through the national government is an attempt to do for ourselves, through the hand of the public, what we consider ourselves incapable of performing on an individual basis.

Mark Twain, for all his cynicism, had not only a gift for clear expression of ideas, but on occasion also had a penetrating insight into the qualities of human nature which determine the course of our political path. It was his conception that each person had two sets of morals--one, private morals; the other, public morals. It was the judgment of Twain's experience that a man of impeccable morals, insofar as his own private conduct was concerned, would condone and advocate, without the slightest twinge of conscience, actions by the public through the instrument of government that he could never accept as conscionable for individual behavior. To no situation does Mark Twain's analysis apply more conclusively than in the matter of our fiscal approach to life. As individuals we have from the experience of ourselves and others comprehended clearly the dire consequences of living beyond our means. Indeed, we hasten to condemn it in our neighbor. Pursuit of fiscal irresponsibility by the individual is usually quickly, and always certainly, punished by both the economic and social consequences which inevitably follow. Fiscal irresponsibility is quite obviously not a course of conduct that is approved

by society for the individual. On the other hand, the American public, or at least a very substantial portion of it, seems to find no great or serious fault with pursuing a course of fiscal irresponsibility as a group, in the name of the national government.

Our fiscal dilemma is only one facet of the trend. For each additional dollar spent, the spending agency must have a new or increased authority or power. Since the people themselves are the source of the residual power in our form of government, each increase in expenditures also represents a surrender of additional power and authority by the individual over his own life and the conduct of society.

What then is the cause for this double standard? The cause can only lie in either our inability or our unwillingness to apply the principles which we know to be reliable on an individual basis to public conduct.

To reverse this trend, our youth must be educated to appreciate their responsibility to apply the same moral code to the public or governmental actions that their experience and reasoning dictate for their own individual conduct. In the final analysis, our government is no more than a group of individuals acting in concert. It can provide no service nor call upon any resource that does not originate with the individual. The indebtedness of the government is our individual indebtedness. The responsibilities of government are responsibilities that we individually have shunted from our own shoulders. The powers of the government are powers that we ourselves surrendered. The government holds no security for us that we cannot provide for ourselves as individuals.

It is imperative, therefore, that our young people be educated not only to earn a livelihood, but for the broader purpose of instilling the self-reliance and the self-confidence that will enable them to rely on their own initiative and efforts for their well being and security rather than on the government; and also for the purpose of instilling the mental discipline which is a prerequisite for sound judgment and action to implement a policy of self-determination.

Our educational institutions have the additional responsibility of equipping the future generations to withstand the pressures which exist from international antagonisms and conflicts, for there is no relaxation apparent in the foreseeable future. The fallacies of weakness and appeasement, so obvious from the study of history, must be impressed indelibly on the minds of our young people. Neither can our educational institutions overlook their responsibility to foster and promote in their charges a love and appreciation of liberty, which will in turn promote a staunch and vigilant defense against its encroachment.

Faint hearts will never win in our conflict with the evil forces of Communism. Communism itself is far more than an impractical and tyrannical form of government. It is an idea, or more,--an ideology--which like a parasite must spread to new sources on which to feed or it will perish. Co-existence, which presupposes containment of Communism, can never be willingly accepted by the directors of its adherents, for such a course would be suicidal. We must, therefore, expect a continuation of the challenge to our liberty which Communism imposes. If we maintain our defenses at a level sufficient to insure our ability to annihilate the forces of Communism in one bold stroke, and at the same time exhibit to the world a firm resolve to take

whatever steps are necessary to protect our liberty, then Communist aggression is unlikely to take the form of armed conflict. Any form of appeasement, whether to socialism from within or to aggression from without, will surely precipitate our downfall. Our moral resolve, which is just as essential to the resistance of Communism, as are our armed forces, can find no other source than the self-reliance and the self-confidence in each of us individually.

I have every confidence that Presbyterian College as an institution will fulfill its responsibility in educating the youth of our State in the future as it has done in the past, and I am just as confident that PC will rise to the challenge of providing the tools for the installation and maintenance of the self-confidence, mental discipline and love of liberty that is essential to the continuation of our self-governed society.

We, the friends and alumni of PC, have a part to play in the accomplishment of this goal. We should not shun our individual responsibility in assisting this institution in its mission.

Through the various scholarship funds and endowment drives, we, as individuals, can assist PC in including a greater portion of our people in its program of instruction by contributions from our individual resources. By the same means, we can assist in teaching by example the duty of acceptance of responsibility by the individual, and the results that can be obtained from individual action. In this way we can do our part in proving that self-government, through education, is not only practical and feasible, but the only means by which man may realize the full potential of his destiny.

-END-